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of a labor qualification for suffrage and declares that he sees nothing undesirable in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in a society where classes are abolished and where all persons are productive workers. Parliaments, he believes, will be organized on the basis of industrial representation. Geographical distinctions will no longer be of importance. While there appears to be close connection with the guild socialists on this point, the author severely criticizes the latter for supplementing their proposed industrial parliament with a "national parliament." It is asserted that since all producers are consumers as well, a single congress chosen directly by the various producing groups will be able to care for all interests of the state.

In an industrial democracy there will be no revolutions, because there will be no classes against which revolts can be directed. Revolutions are class affairs. The time-worn plan of a uniform wage for all kinds of labor is suggested as the most desirable system of remunerating labor. It is argued that labor organizations today are constantly tending toward uniform wages for different employments within their several jurisdictions.

The book is written in an interesting style and careful attention has been taken to give it a scientific tone. In the earlier parts it gives promise of affording a well-constructed philosophy of labor organization. In the later chapters, the utopian element comes strongly to the fore, although the author gives us to understand that he merely throws out suggestions and is not sworn to a particular outcome. Very few concrete examples of union policies are stated in illustration of "conservative functions and social consequences," yet it is quite evident that Mr. Tannenbaum has seen unions work at close range.

An unusual feature of the book is a publisher's note in which G. H. P. criticizes some of the policies of union labor which cause public disorder and lessen output, and tactfully suggests that the author explain to the public in another volume how these policies can be justified. In rebuttal, the author assures G. H. P. that the things which cause the latter so much anxiety are merely the chips and refuse which litter the ground while the new temple of industrial democracy is in the process of erection.

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*Industrial Government.* By JOHN R. COMMONS and others. (New York: Macmillan. 1921. Pp. ix, 425. \$3.00.)

This book is the joint product of a group which spent several months in the study of a wide variety of types of industrial relationships under the leadership of Professor Commons. In the course of

their travels, they visited some thirty establishments, each selected because of some distinctive feature on which the relations between the employers and the workers turned. The group visits were later followed up by individual studies of particular plans.

The experience of fifteen of these concerns is described in this book, each in a separate chapter. In addition there are two chapters on the operation of local trade agreements, in the Rochester clothing market and the Toledo brewing industry, and one on the joint conference council set up by the employers and four national unions in the printing industry. The eighteen descriptive chapters are followed by five chapters of "inferences," four of which are credited to authors of one or more of the descriptive chapters. Some of the descriptive chapters and Professor Commons' inferences have been separately published in periodicals.

The descriptive chapters on the experience of the individual concerns are as interesting to read and as welcome for their content as any equal number of pages on employee representation that the reviewer has encountered in many a day. Ford, Dennison, Filene, and, of course, Hart, Schaffner and Marx are here. The history of the Packard Piano Company and the Demuth experiments, described in John Leitch's "Man to Man," is carried down to date, and the modification by the workers of an "industrial democracy" established after the Leitch pattern in a Cleveland clothing factory is also described. Adaptations from the old-style scientific management, a profit-sharing plan that failed to survive a wage reduction, and representation plans that grew out of less formal attempts to win the coöperation of the workers and are supplemental to other ties on which the employers mainly base their faith, add to the variety of the picture. Most of the stories are told in a colorful and attractive way, with the human interest note well sustained throughout.

Professor Commons' chapter of inferences is definite and thought-provoking. He boldly maintains that what labor wants most is not participation in the whole of management but security in a good job. The author of the chapter on principles of management, after what will seem to many an unnecessary lecture on the functions involved in management, excludes both labor and absentee owners from the determination of certain critical decisions and turns to the problem of training the executives who come into personal contact with the employees. In another chapter the possibilities and desirability of joint control over such matters as wages, individual output, discipline, general productive efficiency and distribution of employment are explored. This is a good piece of work. The methods followed in installing employee representation are reviewed in still another chapter, and those

that are considered best are held up for emulation. There is also a chapter on the practice of management. This runs largely to instructions as to the forms which should be used in the personnel department in keeping records. The book would lose little of its value for the lay student of industrial relations if this chapter were omitted.

D. A. McCABE.

#### NEW BOOKS

ASKWITH, LORD. *Industrial problems and disputes*. (New York: Harcourt. 1921. Pp. x, 494. \$5.)

COMMONS, J. R. and others. *History of labour in the United States*. Two vols. (New York: Macmillan. 1921. Pp. xxv, 623; ix, 620. \$10.50.) A reprint.

COTTER, A. *United States steel: a corporation with a soul*. (Garden City: Doubleday. 1921. Pp. xii, 312. \$3.)

This book according to its publishers is planned as an open and above-board presentation of the development of a great business. The point of view of the author, however, is that the corporation is one enterprise that endeavors to live up fully to the responsibilities it must perforce assume to its employees and the public as well as to its stockholders and he believes that it has earned the title of "a corporation with a soul." This point of view colors the book from beginning to end and all incidents are painted in the purest white without even a shadow of criticism.

The organization, development, and policies of the corporation are outlined in some twenty-seven chapters. "The man at the helm" is the title of the prologue and the statement is made that "the story of United States Steel is the tale of how Gary made his dream come true." The result is an interesting but not a convincing book. One feels in reading some chapters that it is an attempt to answer the "Steel Strike Report" issued by the Interchurch World Movement. The idea is presented that the great corporation saved this country and even the world from being involved in a social revolution by its firm stand against compromises with the strikers. But that the strike was anything more than an ordinary one carried on in the usual way by the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has never been proved. The fact that it was termed a "Hunkey strike" may imply that foreigners are not human beings and so need not be considered. A movement involving a large number of men must have some cause and it is claimed that the grievances were excessive hours of labor, the boss system, and the denial of the right to organize or to representation. Mr. Cotter implies that the twelve hour day and the twenty-four hour shift have been very exceptional, but if so why have even some of the stockholders of the corporation objected to the practice? The statement sounds like a lawyer's plea in avoidance. One may add that the denial of the right to organize and of union representation on the part of its workmen is a curious anomaly coming from a corporation representing the power of organization and representation raised to its *n*th power. The best form of government is said to be a benevolent despotism but the trouble is in being sure that it will be benevolent. In this country political equality and industrial autocracy are